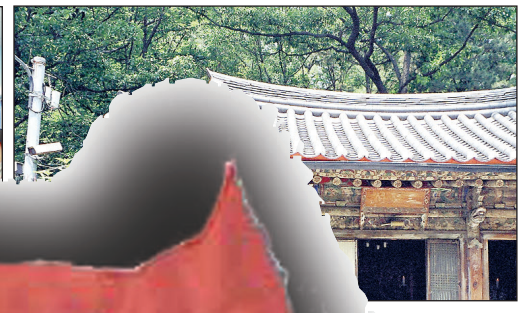
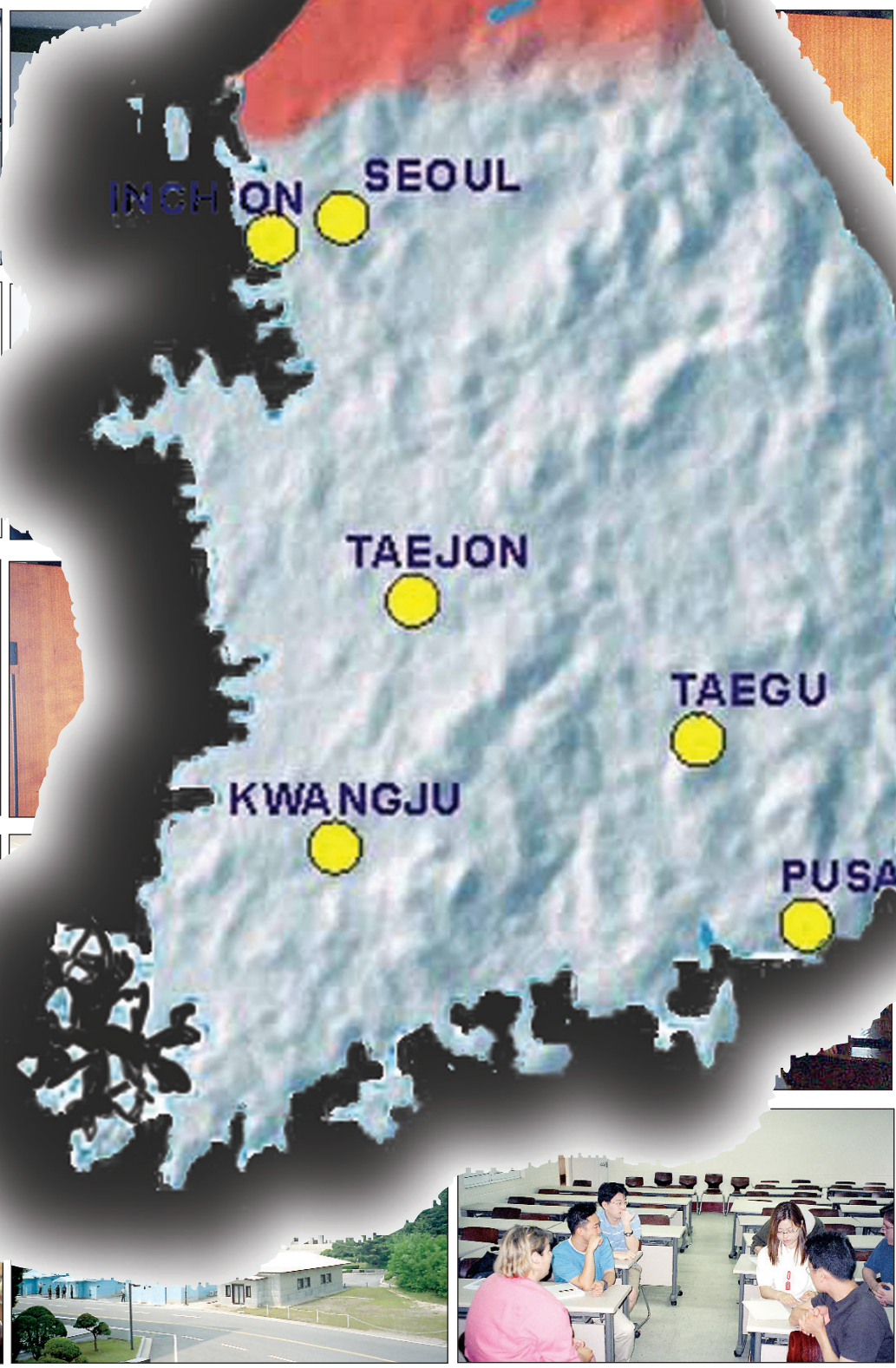
PEACE ON THE PENINSULA





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Unifying Korea?

Union between North, South could be long time coming

I have not seen any book that really explores the possibilities for unification of North and South Korea. I believe it is because there really isn't a feeling by persons in authority that both countries are ready for this kind of undertaking. Keeping in mind the policies that have been suggested by both countries, I would like to try to analyze the situation and suggest what might lead to a peaceful reunification of the two Koreas.

Though the Koreas have been divided for half a century now, they still share the same language, culture, history, race and ethnicity. Political and economic ideology is the major difference between the Koreas: North Korea promotes communism in the form of "juche" and South Korea promotes democracy with an open market economy. This is the central thing that separates them. How can the countries be reunited?

North Korea offered a three-stage proposal for unification in 1992. The proposal was accepted and promoted by Kim Dae Jung during his presidency. The first stage is "the formation of a confederation of republics (or states) in which both parties retain their sovereignties."

The second stage would be "in the form of a federal system that is composed of one federation and two local governments."

The final stage "is complete unification leaving one nation, one state and one government."

The difference between North Korea's understanding of the proposal and Kim Dae Jung's understanding is that each Korea wants to see its respective system adopted by the other. That is a real problem. South Korea is committed to its democratic society and market economy. Why? Because they have been through 40 years of military dictatorship, even if it was one established at the end of the Korean War, with the sanction of the U.S. government, "for their own good." South Korea threw off its governing military dictatorship and replaced it with democracy in the 1990s. South Koreans believe they had to pay dearly for their current freedom and they are not going to give it up. They know what it feels like to live in a country that is not free and open and they do not wish to return to the restrictions of that period. In the interviews I conducted, most South Koreans expressed the idea that there are very few, if any, economic, social or political compromises they would be willing to make to achieve reunification with North Korea.

North Korea and its population have not experienced this struggle. They still believe the South was hijacked by outside powers, mainly the United States, and that these foreign powers have subjugated the South Koreans to their will. In the beginning that might have been the case, considering the United States became involved in the conflict in the first place to prevent the spread of communism. But now the North would have to agree that a majority of South Koreans have chosen the path for their country and that path explores democracy and a market economy.

Coral Russell
Chart Reporter

This does not necessarily mean the North has nothing to offer and should just go belly up as soon as possible. People outside North Korea really don't know what it has to offer. Little informed discussion has been possible because of the "red complex" attitude in the South. An objective study of what the North has to offer in the way of improving existing systems in the South has maybe just begun.

While I was in Korea, President Roh suggested that the South, as a democracy, should have room to accept the Communist Party into the political system. There was a huge uproar from the Grand National Party that said even suggesting that idea was in effect illegal. There needs to be open discussion in order to resolve this issue.

South Korea has successfully dealt with China and Russia economically in recent years, and the North should recognize this. Trade between the two Koreas has been steadily increasing over the years and should continue. In fact economic exchanges and talks should always be encouraged and allowed whenever possible in order to shrink the huge disparity of income between the countries. The two counties need to be on more equal footing in order to facilitate unification. Some would argue that making the North stronger would only further entrench the communist system in the North. Maybe, but the imbalance in economies is creating considerable tension. The North needs legitimate businesses and investment in order to stop its pursuit of illegitimate businesses, such as the manufacture of missiles and nuclear material, which has the rest of the international community so worried.

Korea is unique in the world because it stands as the crossroads where major powers meet: China, Russia, Japan and the United States. Since these foreign powers have fought their wars on Korean land, it is reasonable that Korea should become a neutral zone free to pursue its own course. That is why the North's possession of nuclear weapons may not be viewed, by the South Koreans that I interviewed, as a bad thing. They think if there are any nuclear weapons, they are pointed at the United States because the United States threatens the livelihood of North Korea. If the North possesses nuclear weapons, that means the South does as well and it strengthens, not weakens, their Korean position against all of the outside influences and pressures.

The newspapers have also recently printed that the North's claims about possessing nuclear weapons is exaggerated. China and Russia are believed to not support unification or instability. Japan may also support a status quo because of the expansion of the Korean economy if it is unified.

The United States, I believe, would also opt for stability, not unification, if pressed. It must be recognized that "peace and stability" in the region does not necessarily mean unification. I was surprised to hear from some of my interviewees that right now they would be willing to settle for "peace and stability" instead of or in place of unification, mainly because it would benefit the South's economy.

For the sake of unification, regardless of the nuclear issue, all foreign powers should leave Korea — North and South. The United Nations can and should remain as a mediator and offer support

TURN TO **UNIFY,** PAGE 8B

Tour between Koreas offers new viewpoint

By Coral Russell
Chart Reporter

We were taking a bus tour to the Demilitarized Zone, heading north from Seoul toward the land-mined, barricaded and patrolled corridor of no man's land that has divided the Korean peninsula for 50 years. We were going to cross the most heavily guarded border in the world. When President George W. Bush visited the DMZ in 2002, he called the narrow strip of land separating North and South Korea the "most dangerous place on earth." I had made a similar, memorable trip previously, and I wanted to see if things had changed. Our tour would take us about 40 miles north of South Korea's capital city, through the countryside along the Han River, to the DMZ. Inside the DMZ, we would visit one of the U.N. military bases that guards the South Korean side, observation points and war memorials, the only town that still exists on the south side of the DMZ, the new railroad station that has just been built to open if relations between the two Koreas ever allowed train service, and Panmunjom, the famous site of more than 50 years of still ongoing-peace talks.

Our bus went under a concrete bridge that was rigged with flashing lights. It was explained that in case of a North Korean invasion, the bridge would be blown up to prevent enemy tanks from using it. Travelers would get some kind of warning, though. Next we noticed miles of barbed-wire-topped, chain-link fencing with guard posts every so often. The road ran beside the Han River, and the river was edged with this fencing the whole way in case there was an invasion by water. We passed through the border of the DMZ. The first line of defense stretching 130 miles from coast to coast across Korea was an anti-tank wall, then a mile-wide mine field and finally two rows of barbed-wire-topped, chain-link fence.

Coral Russell/The Chart

Tourists visit blue houses, a traditional area for negotiations, in Panmunjon.

We traveled along through the south side of the zone and were able to visit places that I did not see 10 years ago. The Koreas recently celebrated the "uniting of their two countries by rail." The South has completed all 15 kilometers of track, but the North had only finished 2 kilometers of its 12-kilometer share of the track. No passenger train ran on the unfinished rail line, but it was interesting that both Koreas still celebrated the mere

Turn to **KOREAS**, Page 8B

Dr. Song Hong-Sun speaks out on union of peninsula

By Coral Russell
Chart Reporter

The following is an interview with Dr. Song Hong-Sun, financial economist:

Do friends discuss unification over dinner?

Frequently, discussion of political problems, social problems, economic problems are always related to the North Korea issue.

What does unification mean to you?

Two meanings: First, Korea was divided by external forces; unification means going back to the starting place. Second, economic uncertainty regarding North Korea's nukes makes economic investment in North Korea hard. South Korea is not a peninsula, but an island, isolated. Unification is necessary to connect South Korea with the continent.

Must North Korea adopt the concept of Western capitalism in order to develop economically?

Of course, think of the Soviet Union and China; they are transforming into capitalist systems.

Is the current regime in North Korea capable of the transformation to a market economy?

Aid by adjacent countries is necessary.

Would China support a capitalist North Korea?

China definitely would not object to unification. China is a leader in Asia, the Koreans would be a follower.

America is the problem in Korea; America's conflict with China. In political and military aspects, the problem comes from the Bush administration and becoming worse nowadays. America's military defense policies are the problem.

Coral Russell/The Chart

Dr. Song Hong-Sun discusses reunification.

Is it in Asia's best interest for the Koreas to unite?

No, the U.S. is actually aggressively opposed to unification.

How about Hyundai's efforts to "unify" — with private business deals? Was that altruism or simply an investment?

An investment mainly, to make more money.

Is the age gap going to make it easier or harder for unification?

Unification is an emotional problem, also political and economic. The people who survived the war have a "red complex." That is a prejudice that makes them unable to forget unification, also makes it impossible to unify. Young people have less prejudice, more flexible thinking. They have no reason not to unify.

Sunshine Policy?

There is no "sunshine" in the policy. It will go on, but I have little hope that it will produce much. The U.S. did object to the policy. The Bush administration's interference is very dangerous. President Roh wants to continue the policy, but in reality he has little ability to do so. President Roh's administration is historically the weakest in Korean history. President Roh has no political support. Millenium Party, Roh's party, wants to divide. Many intellectuals don't like Roh, because he sides with labor. The students supported him because he has little authority, doesn't like the existing social order.

South Korea has had 10 years of democracy. How is it going?

For 10 years democracy has practically really advanced. Mr. Kim Yung Sam had fundamental limitations.

For unification, what compromises would South Korea make?

We should pay. Per capital GNP in South Korea is 10,000 won(sic) a year; in North Korea it is 700 won a year. Unification means lessening the gap. In North Korea, there is a great shortage of welfare infrastructure. There are big costs involved.

Is South Korea willing to pay?

I wonder if South Korea is capable of that. After IMF crisis, the fiscal burden leaves little room for contributions to North Korea. Many people worry about the consequences of unifying too soon. We want to unify, but not tomorrow. The Korean economy, the Chaebol, the big business is a driving force for the economy. But they don't want democracy. They want a Confucian order. The Korean dictatorships helped economic growth, but destroyed democracy. Chaebols are good at working money, but they play in an unfair manner. Former President Kim Dae Jung is not related to the military, and the Chaebol had to submit to his reforms, to satisfy the IMF.

Do you think you'll see unification in your lifetime?

Perhaps.

Will your daughter be better if unification occurs?

There is no reason unification will have problems for our babies.

Riot police in the subway hold back demonstrators from the Candlelight Vigil. The protestors want to demonstrate against the United States.

Coral Russell/ The Chart

'Accident' causes anti-American sentiment

By Coral Russell
Chart Reporter

In June 2002 in Seoul, Shin Hyo Soon and Shim Mi Sun, both middle school 14-year-old girls, were walking to a friend's house for a birthday party when a U.S. Army 54-ton armored bridge carrier ran them over from behind. Both girls were killed. The driver of the military vehicle was Sgt. Mark Walker from the U.S. 2nd Infantry Division who was participating in a field exercise and following in a convoy. The driver was blamed by witnesses for trying to pass a slower-moving vehicle on the shoulder of the road.

Lt. Gen. Daniel R. Zanini, commander of the Eighth U.S. Army, made a swift apology to everyone concerning the deaths in order to head off anti-U.S. sentiment that usually revolves around such incidents. The accident was investigated by a U.S. military court, under a special law called the Status of Forces Agreement, and the deaths of the two girls were ruled "accidental." Many South Koreans wanted the U.S. soldiers involved tried in a Korean court. A public memorial service demonstration was held to commemorate the girls' deaths. In the year since, other demonstrations (sometimes overtly anti-United States) have been held that called for a revision of SOFA.

We went to the second candlelight vigil memorial service that was being staged in front of city hall one year after the incident. We took the subway and followed a group of students marching through the subway station with a poster that had a picture of the American flag. Well, sort of — it had skulls and crossbones instead of stars. Suddenly riot police appeared, and they formed a mass in the middle of the subway stairs leading up to the City Hall square. They stopped the first people with the poster and prevented them from going up. A heated argument ensued. The reason later given by a South Korean government spokesmen for this suppression of free speech was that such unruly displays would hurt the Korean economy. We made our way around the confrontation and headed up to an almost carnival-like atmosphere in the square in front of Seoul city hall. There were vendors outside selling snacks and booths selling or giving away candles, banners, T-shirts and other things (for a donation). There were "observers," South Korean security personnel, on the rooftop of city hall taking pictures of the crowd. There were also people holding large flags scattered around the area. A huge sound stage held loudspeakers blasting music and occasionally a speaker addressed the crowd. At one point a speaker asked the powers that be to, "Let this be a peaceful memorial service." A little while later, a famous South Korean rock group sang the song "F—ing U.S.A." There was dancing on stage. It was still daylight, so things had not gone into full swing. We walked around interviewing people above the din. We had been warned away from the memorial service by several people because they thought there might be violence. The only action was a group of workers protesting the restoration of the Cheonggyecheon River that runs through one of the downtown areas; the river runs under a major street. The workers tried to kick in the door to city hall, and it was pretty clear they were not there for the memorial service. We talked to people, and they were responsive and open to our questions. Here are some of their thoughts:

A retired 70-year-old man at the Candlelight Vigil Memorial Service:

He was there to learn "the young people's mind." The older generation must let the younger generation have its opinions, even if these are different. His generation knew about the Korean War, but this generation did not and that is why the United States should forgive them their critical attitudes. Unification should be accomplished, slowly and carefully.

Kim Hyun Hee, age 31, from the organization Women Making Peace:

Her organization sponsored this memorial and last year's as well. During the past year, representatives from her organization attended a South/North Woman's Unification Congress where, for the first time, 700 women from North

Turn to **ACCIDENT**, Page 17B

Kim's policy establishes connections

By Coral Russell
Chart Reporter

Kim Dae Jung has led an incredible life. He has been in the forefront of the democratic movement in Korea since the end of the Korean War. He survived the Kwangju Massacre of 1980 and at least two attempts on his life. He ran for president of South Korea during the first really free general elections for president held in 40 years and was defeated by Kim Young Sam. In 1998 he ran for president again and won.

From his opening speech as president, he declared a new plan for dealing with North Korea that was radically different from policies promoted by his predecessors. Kim announced his three principles of Korean unification: peaceful co-existence (peace-building through the termination of hostile relations, arms reduction, etc.), peaceful exchange (restoration of common national identity through political, economic, social, cultural, and humanitarian interactions) and peaceful unification (incremental unification and the rejection of unification by absorption, military power or manipulation). (The Kim Dae Jung Peace Foundation, 1994)

He also established some guidelines and priorities for inter-Korean interactions: easy tasks first, difficult tasks later; economy first, politics later; Non-Governmental Organizations first, government later; give first, take later.

He named his proposals "Engagement Policy," or "The Sunshine Policy," after an Aesop fable where in a contest between the wind and the sun, the sun succeeds in getting the man to take off his coat where the wind failed. The Sunshine Policy is the counter to the cold wind generated by the cold war with North Korea.

Kim's policy declaration proved to be a pivotal point in breaking down long-held barriers in dealings between South and North Korea. For the first time, Non-Governmental Organizations would be allowed to establish contacts and exchanges with North Korea. Exchanges with the North would be encouraged in many areas, including sports, arts, music, economic enterprises, etc.

The person who jumped most enthusiastically on the chance to establish economic ties with the North was Chung Ju Yung, the late president of the Hyundai Corporation. Chung was originally from a small town near North Korea's famous Diamond

Turn to **POLICY**, Page 17B

Subway station exhibits art of Kumgangsan

By Coral Russell
Chart Reporter

On our way to the candlelight vigil memorial, service we happened upon an exhibit in the middle of an underground subway station. We stopped and were amazed to find the exhibit was about Kumgangsan. There were photographs and paintings by famous artists showing off this beautiful natural area in North Korea and signs colored by school children who dreamed of visiting this place someday. The Kumgangsan Love Organization was promoting exchanges between the two Koreas through this resort. Mr. Cho, is the director, and it was surreal interviewing him there in the subway while row after row of riot police marched past us on their way to the Vigil.

The center for a great deal of inter-Korean activity, of interaction between the peoples of North and South Korea, lies at the end of a 39.4 kilometer road that runs north along the Korean East Coast from the Demilitarized Zone border to the scenic mountain resort of Kumgangsan, or Diamond Mountain. This "tourist spot," the only site at which foreigners can now visit North Korea, was officially opened on Feb. 21. The route takes 80 minutes by bus from the customs, immigration and quarantine office south of the DMZ to a North Korean CIQ just north of the DMZ. The program to this tourist spot was started in 1998, and about 520,000 South Koreans have visited Kumgangsan.

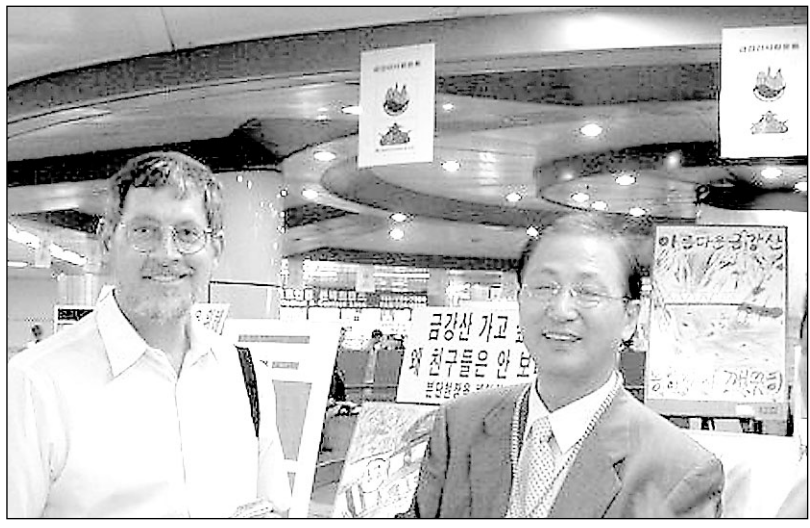
Professor Lee Jang-hie of Hankuk University of Foreign Studies has expressed an optimistic view about the breaking down of the border.

"The opening of this road symbolizes a revival of various networks connecting the Korean Peninsula. I hope it will work as a turning point for bilateral reconciliation though the two Koreas have many obstacles to overcome before achieving true peace." (*The Korea Herald*, Seo Hyun-jin, Feb. 13)

Cho spoke eagerly and optimistically: A railroad not used for half a century will be rebuilt and connect the two Koreas again. When finished, 2,000 people a day will cross over to the North. Highway construction to Kaesong, a village north of the DMZ, will be restarted this month. Air and ship traffic, all stopped by the North, will be reestablished by the South. North Korea has agreed through meetings to restart transport links. Our organization's purpose is to encourage regular citizens to press for reestablishment of trips to Kumgangsan with the motto "unification through education." Unification is inevitable. We Koreans have one language, are of the same race, share the same thinking, same acting and same face.

Unification will occur definitely in my lifetime. We want all people, the general public in North and South Korea, to have the opportunity to meet each other — not politicians and not soldiers, but regular people. We plan to hold simultaneous conventions in North and South Korea. Peace would be lost if there was no reunification. Korea is an important country surrounded by big countries. Korea needs to provide stability in the region.

We have staged an exhibition of photos and paintings of Kumgangsan so that all people can have access to a beauty that belongs to all — not just to scholars and politicians. The Hyundai Corporation, artists, photographers, educators and volunteers helped to stage the exhibition. This movement does not mean to support Hyundai Corporation, the government or anything but peace and unity.



Special to The Chart

Dr. Cliff Toliver speaks with Mr. Cho, director of the Kumgangsan Love Organization, at the subway exhibit.

U.S., Japan, China, Russia, Koreas play parts in unification

By Coral Russell
Chart Reporter

The United States: A superpower in the world financially and militarily, the United States maintains a force of approximately 37,000 troops in South Korea. It wants multilateral (China, North Korea, South Korea, Japan and Russia) talks to be held to bring North Korea back into compliance with the Non-Proliferation Treaty. It does not wish to hold any direct talks with the North or sign any new agreements or offer any inducements to the North in order for them to come back in line with the 1994 Agreed Framework Agreement. They will not sign a Non-aggression pact or treaty with the North, but have repeatedly stated they have no intention of invading the North. The U.S. supports implementation of the Theater Missile Defense System in the region. The other countries oppose this because they find it of little benefit for their own protection, and it is expensive.

North Korea's aggressive moves to obtain nuclear weapons and firing a missile over Japan have brought the other countries back to the TMD U.S. proposition.

Japan: Japan has a leading role in Northeast Asia. It has a history of colonialism in that area of the world. It is acknowledged that it committed brutal acts during its occupation of Korea, including trying to eradicate Korean culture. This still causes tension between Korea and Japan. Japan has remained defensive militarily for a decade, but with the addition of nuclear weapons on the peninsula it has passed increasingly offensive military initiatives. Japanese people immigrated to North Korea during the 50s thinking they were entering a utopia. Some escaping North Koreans, who try to relocate to China, may actually be Japanese. The Japanese would like them repatriated, not sent back to the North where they face certain death. North Korea also acknowledged they had kidnapped as many as 15 Japanese in the 70s. A visiting program was initiated, but fell through after the Japanese government refused to return them at the scheduled time. Japan has made it clear that any normalization of relations with North Korea rests on clearing up the details about these abducted Japanese and also any discussion about its nuclear weapons will be linked to the fate of its Japanese citizens living in the North.

China: China is fast becoming the leading economic as well as military power in Northeast Asia. It most likely does not want to see North Korea collapse. China shares a large border with North Korea. It maintains that it supports a nuclear-free peninsula, possibly because it does not want to see an arms race in that part of the world that would require it to spend more money on its military as well. China is the remaining partner to North Korea that supplies oil and necessary supplies to keep the government afloat. It may have anywhere from 20,000 to 200,000 North Korean famine refugees. China has come under criticism from the U.N. Human Rights Commission, of which it is a member, for returning refugees where they will most certainly face death. China wants to see talks and a move toward normalization between the United States and North Korea.

Russia: Although its ties with North Korea have lessened after the breakup of the Soviet Union, it still wants to be involved in decision making on the peninsula. Vladivostok has always been an important city to the area and keeps Russia connected to international pacific trade. It also wants a nuclear free peninsula in order to prevent a military buildup in the region.

South Korea, or the Republic of Korea: a real change in the country's policy toward the North occurred when former President Kim Dae Jung announced the implementation of the Sunshine Policy that culminated with his visit to North Korea in 2000. This won him the Nobel Peace Prize. For the first time, North Koreans were allowed to be seen as people and not "the enemy." South Korea supports a non-nuclear Korean peninsula. It has many years of experience negotiating with North Korea and has worked a fine balance shaping its policy between North Korea, the United States and the South Korean people. Above all it seems that South Korea wants to become a major economic force in the area. They have suffered setbacks with the 1996-1997 Asia collapse but are still trying to move forward with economic and political reforms.

North Korea: The country has been isolated by the international community for

Turn to **PARTS**, Page 16B

BUDDHIST TEMPLE

Coral Russell/The Chart

This buddhist temple is located in the Acha-san Mountains surrounding Seoul. It's a place for buddhists to pray, worship and meditate.

Author's analysis offers insight to future of democracy

BY CORAL RUSSELL
Chart Reporter

In his book, *The Future of Freedom*, Fareed Zakaria analyzes the relationship between democracy and capitalism.

"Once rich, democracies become immortal. Thirty-two democratic regimes have existed at incomes above roughly $9,000 for a combined total of 736 years. Not one has died," Zakaria said.

Zakaria speculates a large middle class is the backbone of any democratic society.

When a democratic country has a per capita income above $6,000, then it becomes highly "resilient." Only one in 500 democracies "died" or ceased to function as a democracy when the country had established a per capita income above $6,000. On the other hand, Zakaria wrote, a poor democratic country has a "death rate of 56 percent," because out of the 69 poor countries that became democratic without reaching the threshold of $3,000 to $6,000 per capita income, 39 have failed. Zakaria also feels the two most important countries to watch with regard to democracy and capitalism are China and Russia.

Noam Chomsky wrote the United States during the Cold War would systematically work to change a foreign country's government if it did not suit the U.S. standards at that time. The main standard was that the country had to be totally anti-Communist. Chomsky records how the United States used CIA subversion, violence, economic pressure and outright terrorism to secure American interests in other countries. If this meant a dictator needed to be in power, so be it. Naturally enough, Chomsky argues, the United States got cozy with people they could understand and communicate with, the elite of that country. According to Chomsky, they left the foreign elite to deal with the masses in their countries and that usually meant a great deal of unjust treatment. What the United States failed to understand in every one of these countries, according to Chomsky, is that reforms were desperately needed and the United States was letting Communism provide all the answers, especially concerning land reform. The land in most of these countries needed to be decentralized. Private ownership is a hallmark of capitalism, but land reform sounded too much like Communism.

How does this apply to Korea?

Neither Zakaria nor Chomsky apply their principles extensively to Korea, but I think their theories can give some insight into the current situation. South Korea is in the right economic zone at $10,000 per capita to be considered "rich" and therefore "immortal," as Zakaria suggests. After serious economic troubles in 1996-1997, Korea paid back its International Monetary Fund loan ahead of schedule. That period of relapse and recovery caused the Chaebols, the huge family-owned business conglomerates, to be broken up and probably broke any remaining power the military had over the country. The Koreans I talked to feel that today South Korea's democracy is growing and developing, and Korea's political system will never go back to the military-dominated dictatorship it was.

Why did it take 40 years for democracy to develop in South Korea?

One would think that with a large American presence in South Korea offering much support, that South Korea would have become democratic sooner. After World War II, Korea was "temporarily" split into two zones, with China controlling North and the U.N./U.S. forces controlling the South. Each side developed its part of the Korea along the lines of its own ideology. Despite democratic ideological support by the South was not really democratic after the Korean Armistice Treaty was signed and Korea's temporary division became permanent. The generally elected government was overthrown, and a military dictatorship prevailed for the next 40 years.

True, there were popular uprisings for democracy and reform. True, the United States exerted as much pressure as it conveniently could for the South to remain as liberal as it could. However, it also seems true that the United States was willing to overlook quite a bit as long as the dictatorship was decidedly anti-Communist.

So why did South Korea become democratic?

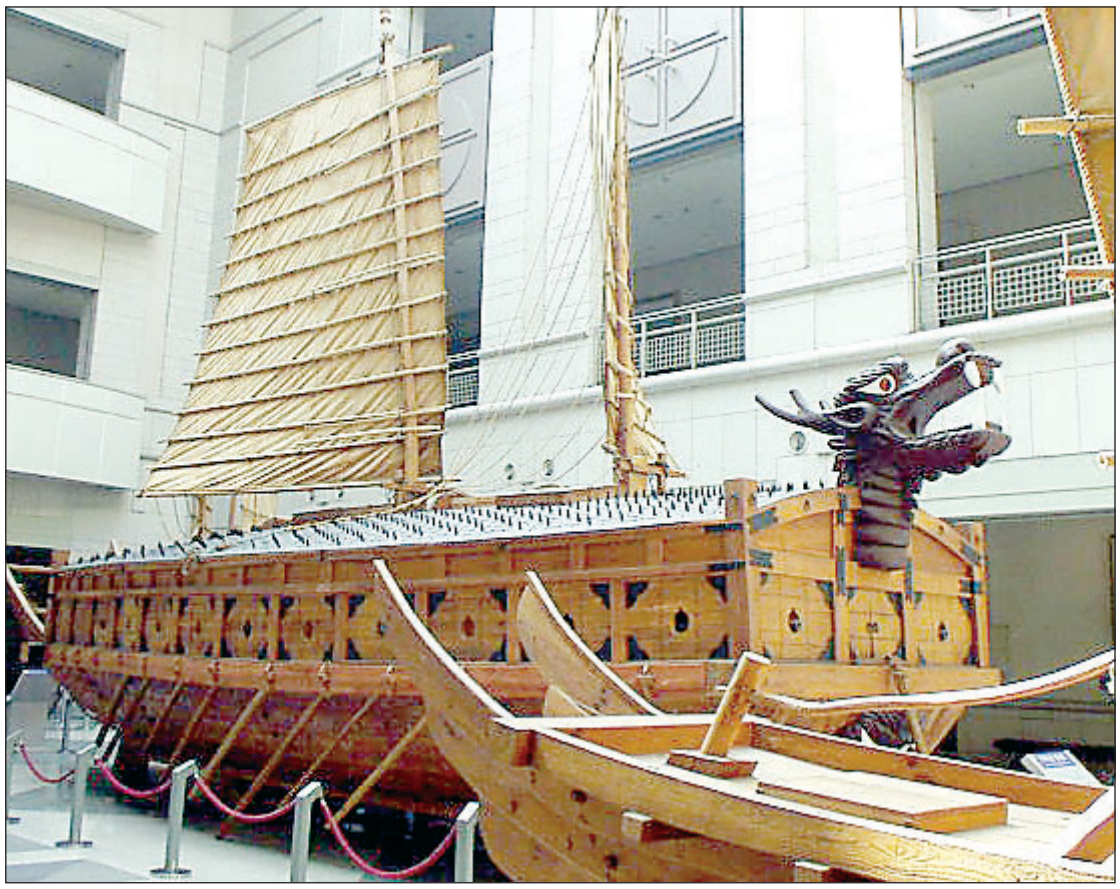
Because of its phenomenal economic

TURN TO **DEMOCRACY**, PAGE 19B

A Look Inside Korea

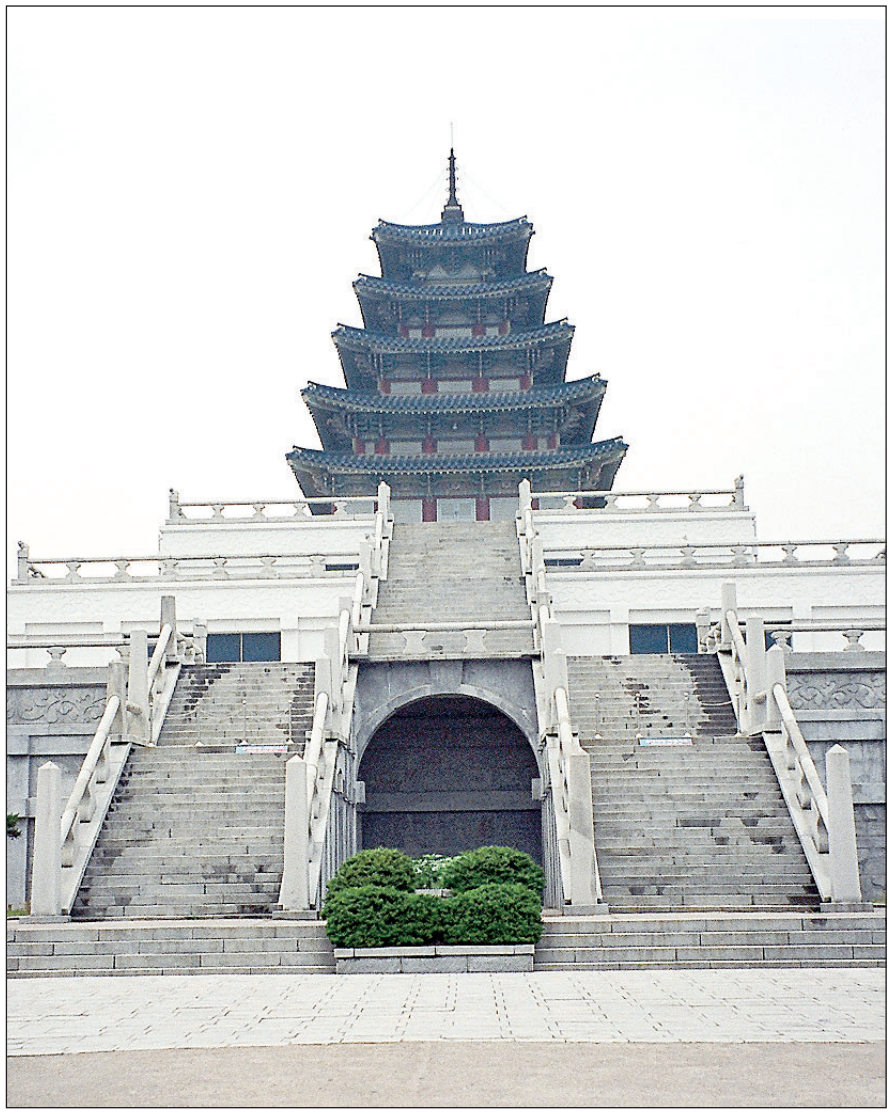
Coral Russell/The Chart

Flags of all the nations that participated in the Korean War are on display at the war memorial complex. Nineteen countries participated in the war between the north and the south.



Coral Russell/The Chart

(Above) An iron clad "turtle" ship, used during many early Korean navy battles is located inside the war memorial complex. (Right) A group of Korean school children admire the view of North Korean at an observation point.



Coral Russell/The Chart

The new Seoul National Museum houses national treasures of South Korea.

KOREAS:

From Page 3B

idea of completing a railroad as a milestone in relations between the North and the South. We visited the shiny new glass-and-steel railway station on the Southern side — complete with waiting room refreshment stands, tourist kiosks and station signs that say "Pyongyang," and point ineffectually toward the capital of North Korea.

We went to an observation point where you could look out over the entire area. This was a new observation point; 10 years ago I couldn't get a feel for where everything was. Now it was evident just how narrow the corridor separating the North and South is, only a stone's throw wide in some areas. It was hazy that day, but you could see where the other side had been stripped of all trees. The south side looked lush with greenery. The northern side has been clear-cut, either because the North Koreans wanted an unobstructed view into the South or because they desperately needed to use all available wood for fuel. You could use telescopes to get a closer look, but you had to move back 15 feet behind a wall in order to take a picture, and by that point, you could only see the tips of the mountains in the North.

One major change I noticed was that propaganda signs and loudspeakers in the North had become tamer after the historic 2000 Summit. Ten years ago, loudspeakers blared messages telling people of the South to revolt or defect to the North. There were also huge propaganda signs.

The two villages that face off from their respective sides of the DMZ do not engage in that sort of propaganda game now. The North instead plays traditional Korean folk music and has changed or removed the signs. Ten years ago the population in the northern village was zero; now about 90 people live there. The South Korean village holds about 230 farmers and their families.

The North has tried to build tunnels under the Panmunjon Demarcation Line into the southern side of the DMZ. South Korean troops have found four, but there are suspected to be others. We actually got to go into the third tunnel that was found. All of it had been dug out secretly by hand by North Korean soldiers, and the tunnel had actually reached well across the border when it was discovered by the South. It is estimated that North Korea could have moved 10,000 troops and artillery through that tunnel in a short time. At the tunnel's end there used to be Republic of Korea guards; now there is only a camera that takes everyone's picture for security purposes.

Outside the tunnel, there is a huge sculpture that is shaped like a broken sphere. On the inside is a relief map of Korea. The northern half is tilted to one side and the South to the other. If someone were to close the sphere, Korea would become whole.

We visited a special area for the families that are still separated by the Korean War. We stood before the altar where families can celebrate the Chosok holiday to honor ancestors. This is the farthest north on the Korean peninsula that people from South Korea can travel. In this area there is also a Wall of Peace that has been created. Rocks from different wars and conflicts from all parts of the world have been gathered together and built into the wall. There is a rock from the American Civil War in that wall. Nearby is the "Bridge of No Return," where prisoners of the Korean War were exchanged. When the Armistice Agreement ending hostilities was signed in 1953, about 70,000 North Korean troops decided to remain in the South. Their families live in the North.

We visited the U.N.-U.S. military base, Camp Bonifas. We stopped near a large sign featuring the camp motto "In Front of Them All," where we could have lunch, shop for souvenirs, sign a waiver saying if war broke out we could not hold anyone responsible if we were injured, captured or killed and where I had to exchange my shoes. I had bought a brand new pair of leather slip-on shoes for my trip and was standing outside our bus when the tour guides got excited and started pointing at my shoes. I was walking toward them and expecting a compliment; they looked cool or something like that. Instead, they were agitated because I could not be allowed to wear shoes that did not have a back to them. These were slip-ons and therefore not allowed at Panmunjon. The explanation I was given is that we had to look well-to-do; otherwise, the North would use our appearance as propaganda. They kept a bag of shoes for just this kind of emergency, but none fit me. For a minute I thought I wasn't going to get to see Panmunjon — because I wore the wrong kind of shoes. So they found a pair of men's sport sandals, the kind with Velcro straps. The only thing was, one strap was broken and they were kind of dirty and old looking, but they had a back to them.

I put them on my feet, so now I could go to see Panmunjon. At the base they were also more secretive about where you could take pictures. Before, there was a big sign with the camp logo that everyone could take pictures in front of. The only thing I could take a picture of that had that logo this time was on the front of the mess hall building were we ate lunch.

Riding down the road to Panmunjon was a completely new experience. A great deal had changed. The new Tong-il Bridge leading to the peace talks site was now in place. This modern two-lane bridge replaced the old one-lane bridge that I crossed 10 years ago. Then, there were anti-tank trenches, and on both sides I could see the remains of blown-up bridges. Now everything looked modern and there was a checkpoint where an ROK soldier examined our passports before we could move on.

More surprises were in store. Things at Panmunjon itself had changed. There were still two Peace Houses on either side of the border. The Peace Garden on the South side had been changed; the fountain had been removed. Then there was a new massive building called Freedom House built in the middle, close to the borderline. It blocked the view of the respective Peace Houses and although its name implied something positive, its stature implied something else. It was cold, modern and massive. Ten years ago we were hustled around to several different places to get views of the North Korean side across the Demarcation Line. Always there were North Korean guards looking back at us through binoculars. Now there were only three places to observe from and no North Korean guards in sight. The one North Korean soldier we glimpsed who was standing guard hid behind a pillar as we approached our observation point. We learned that there were at least eight tours a day with approximately 20 people in each tour. The feeling of the place was different now; Panmunjom had become a tourist attraction.

This point was hammered home when we entered the baby-blue buildings that signify the area where any negotiations are supposed to take place between the North and the South. Ten years ago the tension here was palpable and we were only in the buildings for a minute when a North Korean general flanked by two North Korean guards started staring at us through the windows. We were quickly moved out by our American soldier tour guide (guard?) and told later that when this kind of thing happens it means the North wants to start "something."

Now we watched as two South Korean ROK army soldiers did a little synchronized drill and assumed a Tae Kwon Do readiness stance before we were encouraged to take as many pictures as possible. We were allowed to walk freely across the Demarcation Line, across the border into North Korea. I could not believe it. We quickly did, but our soldier guide soon made us move on.

When I tried to talk to an American soldier guard to get his opinion on the differences between now and 10 years ago, he tersely said, "The soldiers are here for your protection, ma'am."

I was feeling pretty optimistic about what I had just seen. Tensions had relaxed; a tourist trip had replaced a serious conflict zone. Prospects for Korean reunification were looking up. On our bus trip back, we passed again through the border of the DMZ. The first line of defense stretching 130 miles from coast to coast across Korea was two rows of barbed-wire-topped, chain-link fence, then a mile-wide mine field and finally an anti-tank wall. My optimism faded: it would take a hundred years just to try and find all the mines.

I talked about it with Bruno, a South Korean friend, after we got back, and he said, "But we have a plan. We will turn that area into a national park and wildlife refuge after unification." They have thought of everything.

UNIFY:

From Page 2B

for negotiations. This position will leave the North and South to pursue all of their issues with each other, without dragging in the international community that would only muddy the waters with their agendas. This would also pave the way for a new armistice agreement that would involve North and South Korea. As it stands, the current armistice agreement involves China, North Korea, the United States and the United Nations. This agreement must be changed in order for there to be any progress toward unification.

Overnight progress should not be expected. Kim Dae Jung's first stage was projected to last 10 years. I was more optimistic before I went and talked to Koreans. I had heard 20 more years at best.

After talking with many South Koreans, I developed a better perspective on the situation and began to understand how much more complex it is than I previously thought.

I do not believe that all the powers that be in that region are on the same page or even have the same agenda. Korea is a pivotal and vital area and everyone, including Koreans, needs to recognize this.

The very best scenario, it seems to me, in the long run, is that the North will open up economically, thereby allowing the start of legitimate businesses, which will start the snowball rolling by encouraging laws, building up a large middle class, which will in turn force it to change some more laws, which will open it up more, which will change the government and eventually democracy and an open market economy.

It is definitely not an overnight deal. The very worst case scenario, in the short run, is that North Korea will not like what it sees regarding economic reform and shun all reform attempts. It will rely on what is sustaining them now — black market profiteering, weapon sales and technology, drug trafficking and whatever deals it can force from South Korea, the United States and the international community.

Beijing hosts talks, hope exists for future talks

According to reports from the Associated Press, talks were held in late August in Beijing between China, the United States, North and South Korea, Japan and Russia.

On the surface, not much seemed to happen; however, on Nov. 21 according to South Korea's Lee Soo Hyuck and U.S. Assistant Secretary of State James Kelly, there is hope for another round of talks on Dec. 17-19 mainly because the United States has agreed to extend a security agreement to North Korea.

That is, of course, in jeopardy because defense secretary Donald Rumsfeld on the same day called the regime "evil" which in turn led the North to accuse the United States of "deceiving" them about the security agreement.

Books, materials on Korea available in Spiva Library

Books and materials were purchased during our stay in South Korea and donated to the Spiva Library.

We also purchased a DVD movie, *JSA: Joint Security Area,* that is a fictional account of interaction between North and South Korean soldiers along the DMZ/Panmunjon area (Korean with English subtitles).

It is available from Dr. Tatiana Karmanova, director of the international language resource center.

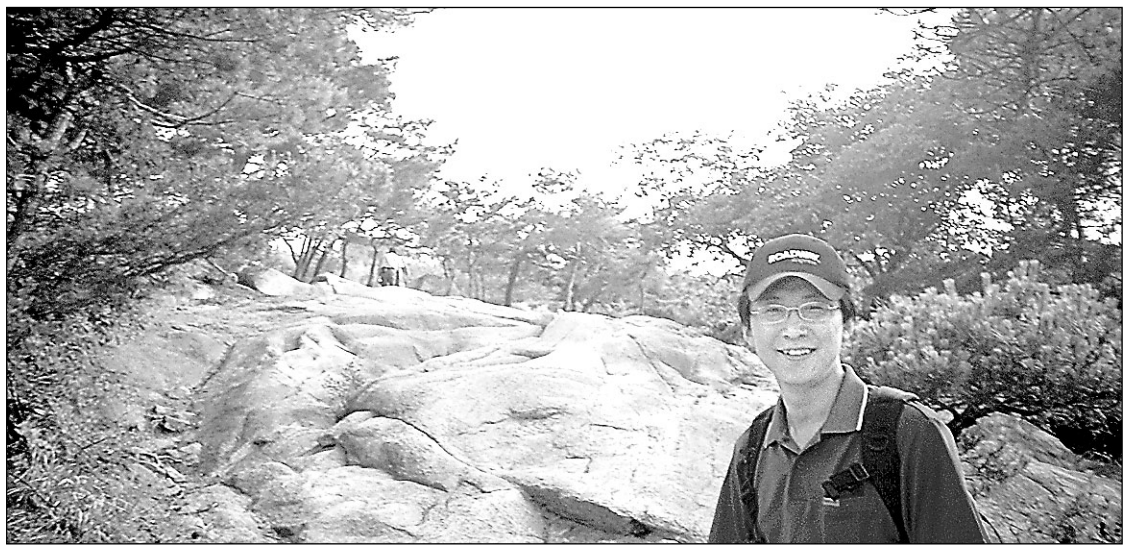
Korea

It was divided into North and South after the Korean War in 1953.

The border between North and South Korea is the 38th parallel.

The Demilitarized Zone is the most heavily guarded border in the world.

The DMZ lies about 40 miles north of Seoul, South Korea's capital.



Coral Russell/The Chart

Park Jong Kuk (Bruno), a "truly genuine person," has been a friend of Coral Russell's for 10 years.

Thank you from Coral Russell to her friend 'Bruno'

When you see my name under these articles, it gives the impression that I did this all by myself.

The real reason any of this got done is because I have really great friends, a supportive family and a good professor.

I met Bruno 10 years ago, and we became great friends.

He is a truly genuine person of the highest magnitude (I hope he understands that this is a compliment).

Thank you, Matt and Matti, for letting me go.

Thanks, Dr. Toliver, I didn't know I was getting such a "pro" when I asked if you would be interested. If any of this is good, it's because of them.

Thank you.

Hangul Characters

Committee creates system to write Korean language

The Korean language is a member of the Ural-Altaic family. King Sejong, the 4th ruler of the Joseon dynasty (1392-1910), set up a special committee of scholars in 1443 to create a new writing system specifically suited to the Korean language. It devised the set of Hangul characters, which is considered by linguists and language experts to be the most logical, systematic, phonetic system of writing a language in use in the world today.

Hangul is the only system of writing where the exact origin and history is known and documented.

A. 여기가 어디예요? Where are we?

B. 종로예요. We are in **Jongno**

A. 대사관이 어디예요? Where is the embassy?

B. 저쪽이에요. It is over there.

A. 멀어요? Is it far?

B. 아니오, 가까워요. No. It is nearby.

ㅏ	A	as in **blah**
ㅑ	Ya	as in **yap**
ㅓ	Oh	as in **hot**
ㅕ	Yoh	as in **onion**
ㅗ	O	as in **open**
ㅛ	Yo	as in **yo-yo**
ㅜ	U	as in **moo**
ㅠ	Yu	as in **you**
ㅡ	Uhh	as in **geranium**
ㅣ	EE	as in **eat**
ㅐ	Ae	as in **eh**
ㅒ	Yea	as in **yet**
ㅔ	Euh	as in **bet**
ㅖ	Ye	as in **yay**
ㅘ	Wea	as in **way**
ㅝ	Ooee	as in **weak**
ㅢ	Oohee	as in **squeeze**
ㅘ	Ooah	as in **water**
ㅙ	Ooeh	as in **wake**
ㅟ	Oouh	as in **work**
ㅞ	Oeah	as in **wet**

ㄱ	g	as in **game**
ㄴ	n	as in **name**
ㄷ	d	as in **door**
ㄹ	rr/ll	*as in **run/lump**
ㅁ	m	as in **me**
ㅂ	b	as in **bus**
ㅅ	s/t	*as in **sun/toe**
ㅇ	ng	as in **going**
ㅈ	j	as in **joke**
ㅊ	ch	as in **choke**
ㅋ	k	as in **king**
ㅌ	t	as in **tell**
ㅍ	p	as in **pull**
ㅎ	h	as in **hotel**
ㄲ	kk	as in **knock**
ㄸ	dd	as in **buddy**
ㅃ	bb	as in **blubber**
ㅆ	ss	as in **sassy**
ㅉ	jj	as in **badge**

*sound at **beginning/end** of a word

Note: ㅅ + ㅣ = 시 is pronounced "**she**"

Source: Altavista, www.altavista.com

Views from

By Coral Russell
Chart Reporter

Mr. Yom, Director of Korea Solidarity for Conscientious Objectors and the Solidarity for Iraq Team of Korea

This 28-year-old man had decided to follow his ideals and work for peace in the world. He felt there should be a total demilitarization of the Korean peninsula and that the "outsiders" should go first, the U.S./U.N. forces should leave immediately. He believed the power gap between the two states of North Korea and South Korea was too great and deals cannot be made when the players are not on an equal footing. North Korea still feels threatened and has the right to defend itself. He thought North Korea may have its good points and there should be further discussion, but not while the North is under duress. He also thought South Korea should provide absolute economic support for the North; then South Korea would have the right to request a nuclear-free Korea. He is focusing his attention on the war in Iraq now because he felt the North and South were just now taking small, first steps toward reunification. He had organized human shields during the invasion of Iraq and his colleagues from around the world have said, "See you in Pyongyang," meaning that if war broke out in North Korea, they would serve as human shields there.

Yom
Director of Korea Solidarity

Mr. Lee, Real Estate Agent

He talked of living through the Korean War as a young boy of seven or eight. His father was a policeman and was placed on a kill list by the North Korean Army. He and his mother fled to the South. He talked about the terrible things he saw and the hardships and lucky circumstances that let them live through the time. He thought young people today don't think the war is their problem; it is their fathers' problem. They are wrong. He believed if McArthur had been allowed to use the atomic bomb back then, Korea would never have been divided. The North Koreans are communists and are not to be trusted. Communists never change their minds. They talk about doves and kindness, but he remembers the horrors of the war. War is messy, terrible and horrible. He thought the Sunshine Policy was finished, as it should be. He really wanted us to know Koreans appreciated what Americans had done for them and that he wouldn't be standing here if it weren't for their intervention. He said when he talked to other friends his age, they all agreed — the Americans had done a necessary and good thing 53 years ago.

Lee
Real Estate Agent

Mr. Kim, Financial Planner

Mr. Kim compared Korea's troubled political development to most of the world. He compared the war and division in Korea to the American Civil War, England, current conflict and division in Yugoslavia, the divisions between Taiwan/China, East/West Germany and ia/Pakistan/Bangladesh. He mentioned his hobby is studying history.

When I mentioned the Sunshine Policy, he said, "A journey of a thousand miles begins ..."

He felt Western-style capitalism is essential for the development of North Korea and for reunification. He believes capitalism is innate in Koreans; they are successors of the earlier generations of merchants and businessmen. He believed the primary responsibility for unification belongs to China, North Korea, South Korea and the United States because the South depends on the U.S. military and the North depends on the Chinese economy. He thought South Korea should share four to five percent, perhaps even 25 percent, of its national budget with North Korea to pay for industrial development.

When asked if he would be willing to give 25 percent of his income to further unification, he said, "As a banker, I know that is a problem."

Kim
Financial Planner

South Korea's democracy is growing and developing. The South must continue to develop democratically in order to show the North democracy will be helpful and good. I was interested to see if Koreans felt the 40 years of dictatorship could have been avoided if the United States had done more to support democracy.

He countered that almost all countries that were trying to become democratic had gone through a dictatorship phase, and Korea was no different. He also thought Korea was just in the first steps to unifying and that water can erode a stone — a drop at a time. He felt North Korea eventually really will attack South Korea because North Koreans are taught they must unify Korea, by force if necessary.

The South must give concessions because the North will attack. A peaceful unification is desirable, and he believed most people on the Korean peninsula believe that as well; the South has only to open the way.

He pointed out that the first page of every Korean child's first-grade music book reads, "Our hope is unification."

Mrs. Song, CEO of a Travel Company

She explained she was a romantic and that was why she thought unification would occur in her lifetime. She supported travel and trade because North Korea was very poor and needed support and assistance.

She thought the nuclear issue was very important and there were "crazy men" in the North who might use the weapons. If the South were to help the economic and political situation in the North, then the North Korean leaders would not feel the need to use nuclear weapons in order to survive. She felt the generation gap would hurt the reunification process, and if Korea was not united in 10 or 20 years, then it would become too hard. The North must open up in all areas, if they want unification.

Song
Travel Company CEO

"Everything was destroyed during the Korean War, but after 50 years, it is hard to find a trace [of the destruction] — except in people's memories."

Mrs. Kim, Computer Programmer

Her main concern is she can't go to her parent's hometown, which is in North Korea. Unification would allow her to travel — to reconnect with her ancestral roots. South Korea's population is overcrowded. Unification would allow a redistribution of the population to the less populated North. She believes unification must happen in order to assure peace, but the numbers of those who are willing to unify the country are diminishing. If North Korea has nuclear weapons, even though it is otherwise technologically and economically undeveloped, then it has power to negotiate its problems with big countries. She has discussed this with her coworkers, and they think that China, Japan and the United States are prohibiting unification and the North and South should work on unification themselves, without "aid" from others.

Monica, Housewife

Monica has an MBA, but lives at home, taking care of her children. She thinks unification would create more power for Korea in the international situation and would have a synergy effect. It would be hard at first, but would help culturally and economically. North Korea's nuclear weapons are a serious problem. If North Korea has nukes, then both countries have nukes, and the North is only using them as a protection against larger countries. North Korea has a clever foreign policy. I envy the North Korean leaders' abilities. South Korean leaders are not that clever. The Sunshine Policy will help level the differences between the North and South and should be continued. U.S. troops cannot stay in South Korea if unification is to proceed. Like in Iraq, U.S. troops may say they will leave, but they will not. Because democracy is better than communism, it is "natural" that the North will become like the South. South Korean people now demand a genuine democracy and will never go back to the way it was. She lived in America for a time, and we asked her about her experiences there. She thought Americans in general did not know the world outside; they only knew what the television airs, and the government can regu-

South Korea

late that. American people are indoctrinated by the government and easily controlled that way. In the cities, the people are just like Koreans. In the countryside, people are more traditional. American girls are very conservative, compared to what the movies show.

Mr. Kim, Former CEO of a Chaebol, Now Executive of a Biodegradable Recycling Alternative Firm

He thought Hyundai would fall because of the payoff to North Korea. He thought the Hyundai payoffs were bad business. Politically and economically, if we unify, there would be many good points: a bigger market, increased labor force, we could increase North Koreans' level of life. Many big companies in South Korea are now experiencing an increase in wage demands, which is ruining their competitiveness in the international markets. In Asia, Korea is the only nation that maintains Confucianism: honoring parents and ancestors, keeping human rule, cultivating the race. Confucianism helps South Korea maintain good relationships among people and in the future, this will be a mental and ethical asset. We South Koreans want to be united with North Koreans because we are the same race, same family and same blood. Korea should be unified on the principles of capitalism and democracy. The U.N. troops are very helpful. North Korea wants to unify also, but by invasion and war. Unification should be peaceful. If there is no unification, than we loose half our body, half our family. We Koreans have unification in our DNA — hundreds of years of shared past history.

Kim Hwe-Su
Former CEO of Chaebol

Mr. Khan, Businessman

Pakistani who gained Korean citizenship and has lived in South Korea for nine years, Khan said reunification would be a good thing and all countries should support unification because it would lead to a better Korean economy and a better economy there would be good for all other countries — rich and poor, big and small. He believes the North does not have nuclear weapons and that no country wants to use nuclear weapons.

"We live here; we eat here; we work here; then we will not destroy the building," he said.

South Korea is self-sufficient and does not need unification, but it will happen because there are too many families divided. He compared the division of the Koreas to his separation from his family in Pakistan; he hasn't been home for only two or three years, yet his family worries about him. How much more must Korean families that have been separated for 50 years worry? He believes Koreans don't want U.S. troops in South Korea and that the U.S. troops don't want to be in Korea, yet North Korea is afraid of the U.S. Army and will not attack while U.S. troops remain. Also if the United States leaves, then China will move in and it would be better for the United States to stay and keep China away. He said whether reunification was a good thing all depended on whom you talked to because there are two classes of people — laborers and businessmen. The laborers do not want unification because they fear for their jobs. The businessmen want unification because they could expand their businesses.

Khan
Businessman

Ishmael, Islamic Student

He is a Korean citizen who has converted to Islam. I met him in the Seoul Central Masjid in Itaewon. Unification is very important to him. He wishes for peace for Korea. His grandmother's hometown is in North Korea, and she really wants to visit. He was born in the South and doesn't feel a need to visit himself. Koreans are one people, despite the ideological conflicts that divide them. The younger generation is really willing to unify, but it knows very little about North Korea. Still they are serious about reunification, despite the ideological and cultural problems. Cultural exchanges are most important, even more than economic aid. In Korea there are small numbers of Muslims and the prejudice against Islam is common. This makes unification harder. Islam means "peace" and ultimately Islam will help promote peace. When asked if unification will occur in his lifetime, he answered, "Inshallah," which means "God willing."

Ishmael
Islamic Student

Mr. Yu, Military-Civil Worker

He is in a unique position. Born in Korea, he lived in the United States from the time he was about nine and had joined the U.S. military. He then was sent on a family errand to South Korea. South Korea has no dual citizenship agreements with the United States so he was drafted into the Korean military as well. The Korean military requires a mandatory service of two years and two months for every able-bodied male. He said the United States sold its hand-me-down military equipment and weapons to the Koreans. This was why the United States was lobbying the Korean government to increase its military spending. The United States was investing $12 billion in new weaponry for Korea, Yu said, so the United States wanted the Korean military to increase its spending accordingly. That meant that the Korean army would probably have to buy the outdated equipment that the United States was replacing.

To people with families or homes in the North, reunification is very important. To me, I don't think all of this talk about reunification with North Korea has too much significance. Korea would become stronger economically and culturally and I think it really is important that we unite. Arguing about nuclear issues surely won't help. More humanitarian aid would help. North Korea is not afraid of the United States; it doesn't believe the same thing will happen to it as in Iraq. Show the North how well we are doing, and it will want this, too. The South Korean military is always ready. We do not ever intend to start anything, but we are ready. South Korean troops are even better trained than U.S. troops. The Korean military is even developing its own equipment. They don't want to depend on the United States, but self-sufficiency will take a long time. The United States still believes it is the backbone of South Korea's defense. The United States sees Korea as the center of Asia, and it will never leave on its own. Still, eventually Korea will have to stand on its own two feet. Even if the United States pulled out completely today, nothing would happen. North Korea has manpower but no equipment for war. I think U.S. troops should leave now. Of course, South Korea is part of the United Nations, so there will still be some U.S. troops left in Korea. Korea could be unified by force, but that is not the way to go. If we use force, we would be no better than North Korea 50 years ago.

Yu
Military-Civil Worker

Two wrongs don't make a right. We could do a lot more to help mend relations with the North. Much more food and agricultural aid could be sent, not money, but supplies, food and aid. The United Nations could send inspectors with the supplies to be sure it goes to the people. The nuclear issue is a Bush problem.

What I'm really scared of is Bush's actions. I think there will be peace and stability in my lifetime. There may be conflicts, but not real war. I think there will be unification in my lifetime. Korean democracy is slowly improving but still not great. The government still doesn't care what the citizens want.

A Former Spy for South Korea

He said he had been part of a South Korean Military Headquarters of Intelligence Detachment operation to spy on North Korea. He said he had been trained by the South Korean government as a spy and had lived in great danger in North Korea for seven years. South Korea had always denied, and continues to deny, it had ever sent spies into the North. Just recently, former spies, such as himself, had been able to come forward with their stories without fear of being killed.

He said if someone like him tried to tell the truth before, he ended up dead. He said his decision to demonstrate and tell his story now has been hard on him because he cannot get a job, and he lost all those years of his life with no benefits. He said the only thing he wanted from the South Korean government at this point was his honor. He had little patience with North Korea.

Reunification: What this means to Koreans

BY CORAL RUSSELL
Chart Reporter

Most of our time and energy during our two-week trip to Korea was spent in conducting dozens of interviews with Koreans. Many of our interviews with business-people and political figures were very formal, by scheduled appointment, in their offices or in coffee shops. Several of our interviews were conducted at restaurants, after wonderful Korean meals. Sometimes we stopped people more or less at random, on the street or in public buildings.

We interviewed a taxi driver while he was driving us to conduct another interview. We interviewed the students in a college's political science class in their classroom. We interviewed the reporter from a Korean English-language newspaper who was interviewing us for the story she would write about us for her paper. We tried very hard to interview subjects from every walk of life, from every segment of Korean society-male and female, old and young, powerful and ordinary, public and private, native born and foreign born.

As the basis for our interviews, we developed ten questions and translated them into Korean. Here are the questions we asked, along with general summaries of the typical responses we received.

What does the phrase "reunification of Korea" mean to you?

People responded that "reunification of Korea" meant the merging of the two Koreas in some form or another. They thought carefully about the question and some said it was hard to answer and had to think for a little while.

Should reunification occur?

The majority of people said most definitely yes. People said reunification of the two Koreas was necessary and would happen eventually, probably in their lifetime. The college students were the real exception. College students often said most definitely not. They were willing to wait another fifty or one hundred years if reunification had to occur.

What types of compromises are acceptable to South Korea for reunification?

Most were not open to South Korea making any real compromises. Some said that South Korea should support North Korea financially for a time. Some adamantly refused to compromise militarily, politically or economically. They asked, "Why should the South compromise with the North? There would be nothing to gain."

If North Korea possesses nuclear weapons or the means to make or obtain these weapons, is this a serious problem for reunification?

Responses on this question were split. Some saw North Korea's possession of nuclear weapons as a serious problem and were dedicated to the ideal that the Korean peninsula should be nuclear free. Some saw the possession of nuclear weapons by North Korea as a strong move that included and ultimately benefited South Korea. If the North had nuclear weapons, that meant the South sort of had them as well and this was a good position of power for the Korean peninsula as a whole.

It was acknowledged that the U.S. and other powers had more to lose if the North developed nuclear weapons. Most said they believed that the weapons, if they were being developed, were not aimed at South Korea. Many felt a nuclear attack by North Korea on South Korea would be tantamount to suicide and would end up destroying the whole peninsula. Most felt pretty strongly that the North understood this. It was also pointed out several times that the U.S. possessed the most nuclear weapons.

Will economic development in North Korea further reunification? Must North Korea adopt the concept of Western capitalism in order to develop economically? If so, why?

Generally, the opinion was that North Korea must make substantial changes in its economic structure to further its economic development. It was suggested that the North would have to reform its economy in some way in order for its citizens to support themselves and lift themselves out of the impoverished state they are now in. Most saw North Korea becoming a market economy because this has proven to be the system that works the world over, and most South Koreans believe capitalism has certainly worked well in South Korea.

Does cultural exchange (in music, arts, sports, etc.) advance reunification between North and South Korea?

Most believed there should be continued cultural exchanges of some kind because the Korean people are, despite 50 years of separation, still basically the same and have many characteristics in common.

The kinds of exchanges suggested were important. Some saw civilian exchanges as the most powerful and useful way to promote reunification. Many South Koreans wanted to meet one-on-one with their Northern counterparts. Non-governmental organizations were thought of as the most powerful way for people to connect and start coming together. Government-sponsored exchanges were thought to be less helpful. Many said that the governments and economic policies may be different, but the common people were basically the same at heart.

Who should play the primary role in Korean unification?

I think the responses on this were split. Some felt the two Koreas, North and South, should take responsibility for their own reunification. Some felt that since the United States, China, Russia and other members of the international community were responsible for Korea being divided in the first place, these countries should accept the responsibility of repairing their mistake.

Can Korea be unified while United Nations and United States troops remain in Korea?

Again this was split between yes and no. I think the split was between age groups. Those who either remembered or experienced the Korean War thought that the United States had helped create the problem, so they should solve it. Younger people thought that Koreans had not been given the chance to solve this problem on their own and were constantly catering to some other power (United States, China, Japan, etc.).

Is reunification inevitable?

I think everyone we questioned eventually said yes. Most also replied that they thought it would happen in their lifetime and that varied from ten to fifty years.

Is there a generation gap in South Korea, and if so, how does that affect the prospect of reunification?

I think the answer was split between people saying yes, the generation gap would hurt the process because younger people have nothing positive to remember about North Korea, and no, the younger people would not carry the same prejudices and baggage that the older generation does and this in turn would make reunification easier.

Dr. Toliver added another question that provoked a great deal of thought: If reunification were not to take place, what would be lost?

A typical answer was that much of a common culture, heritage, and history would be lost and that this loss could be compared to a person losing a limb or even half of his body. An extreme opinion expressed was that, though they share a language and a past, there was too great a difference between the two Korean cultures now. They no longer had much in common at all, so little or nothing would be lost.

Again I think the answers could be divided among age groups. Older Koreans remembered when a unified Korea was a fact of life. Younger Koreans can only imagine "one Korea" as an abstract concept. Now, in both Koreas, seventy percent of the people have never known a unified Korea. Most South Korean young people have never even met their relatives in North Korea.

After we finished asking our questions, we asked the interviewee if he or she had anything to ask us or if any additional comments should be made.

The most common question asked by younger people was, "Why did America elect George W. Bush as President?" The most common comment made by older Koreans, by those who had experienced the Korean War and its aftermath firsthand, was, "Please let other Americans know how thankful we are for their help and support."

Coral Russell/The Chart

This old Seoul neighborhood is being replaced by high-rise apartments.

North Korea debates nuclear ability with United States

BY CORAL RUSSELL
Chart Reporter

The Bush administration's stated foreign policy is the "preemption doctrine — an assertion by the United States that it is willing to use force, unilaterally if necessary, to confront potentially hostile states bent on acquiring weapons of mass destruction." This was applied to Iraq just recently. Iraq is one of the three nations in the "axis of evil" which includes Iraq, Iran and North Korea. Although this is not the subject of this project it does have direct implications for the North. After the "major conflict" in Iraq was declared over, the United States has stumbled for months trying to organize services and keep the peace in Iraq, and United States is fighting allegations it used forged evidence to support the declaration for going to war. Hindsight is 20/20 and it looks as if the United States picked its fight with Iraq because it knew it could win, fairly easily.

What are the consequences of this preemption doctrine for North Korea? Obviously the North Koreans have been watching the developments closely in Iraq. North Korea sees itself as vulnerable to attack by the United States. North Korea also believes its only avenue of preservation lies in becoming, unlike Iraq, a nuclear power and in a hurry. In the 1990s with the Clinton administration, North Korea experienced the "carrot and stick" version of U.S. foreign policy. When the North Koreans found out their country was being compared to a jackass that had to be tricked and prodded into line by the United States with this method, they were less than pleased. However, carrot-and-stick diplomacy did result in the signing and partial implementation of a significant, mutually beneficial treaty, the 1994 Agreed Framework, which maintained peace.

The Bush administration's version of Korean foreign policy has been called "smoke and mirrors" diplomacy. The Bush administration has repeatedly said the United States would not use force but is seeking a diplomatic solution to the settlement with the North over its nuclear development program. However, the Bush administration has insisted on multi-lateral talks that will pull in as many different agendas as countries involved. They are also going to hinge key agreements, like signing a non-aggression pact, to North Korea's scrapping its weapons program and providing economic aid and diplomatic recognition to North Korea's human rights issues. Meanwhile, Congress is moving to cut any spending on the light water nuclear reactors that were supposed to be supplied to North Korea and has opened up the door into the United States for North Korean asylum seekers. North Korea will most likely reject these proposals, and everything will remain status quo. The reasoning in Washington seems to be that North Korea will continue to use its dwindling resources to prop up the military and thereby run itself into the ground and bring an end to the regime.

While visiting the Korean peninsula in June, we witnessed the South Korean government's attempts to sound harsh enough for the hardliners in Washington and Seoul, flexible enough for the Korean people, and conciliatory enough for Pyongyang. I also saw how different the news coverage is in the United States and South Korea. In South Korea, the newspaper showed President Roh holding a town meeting to emphasize a diplomatic solution to the situation with North Korea. On the same day, the United States news showed a South Korean soldier and a North Korean soldier facing off at Panmunjon with the headline that tension on the peninsula has never been greater.

What do South Koreans think of all this? There were several different opinions ranging from the United States should leave now, to the United States helped create this problem and it should be the one to fix it.

What if the United States did leave the peninsula? McArthur did adhere to the "never get involved in a land war in Asia" theory and believed that U.S. influence should not extend beyond Japan. The United States would leave a power vacuum, and who would fill it? Probably Korea. South Korea is a stable democracy with a fully functioning society. If there needed to be a mediator there, let it be the United Nations. They have experience and are also capable of handling the situation. It would force North Korea to face the South, not the United States. The United States keeps insisting that the nuclear issue needs to be handled by the neighborhood involved, but the United States is not part of that neighborhood. It made itself part of that neighborhood. It would give the United States the opportunity to step back and support its allies without being constantly singled out by the North. I get the feeling the neighborhood does not support the North having nuclear arms. They do not want a new arms race that would take away from everyone's economic growth and investment. Because the United States insists on being there, it gives legitimacy to whatever the North requests. The United States has made the outward appearance of backing off by moving troops, over a five year period, from Panmunjon and Yongsan to Osan about 40 miles away, in

TURN TO **NUCLEAR**, PAGE 19B

PALATIAL SETTING

The Kyung Bok Un Palace is in South Korea. Some palaces, like Kyung Bok, that were once used to house royalty, now serve as meeting places for the community.

Special to The Chart

Coral Russell/The Chart

Traditional meals in Korea consist of kimchi, ginseng and garlic. Koreans consider the three ingredients to be the holy trinity of their cooking.

Koreans believe 'holy trinity' prevents outbreak of SARS

By Coral Russell
Chart Reporter

I don't know if I should boast about this or not, but we ate amazingly well during our stay in Korea.

We were taken to some of the finest places in Seoul to eat and most of our meals cost $5-$7 U.S. per person. As a highlight of our food trip, we went to Myongdong, the international fashion district of Korea, and ate at an exclusive traditional Korean restaurant. We feasted on two successive several-course meals called "Dishes of the Kings" (and Queens) for $60 for three people. We ate traditional Korean foods, soups, exotic fish and shellfish, pork and Korean vegetables, cooked with local spices the way Koreans cooked centuries ago. And these foods were as delicious as they were historical and impressive. There were representative dishes from every area of Korea and the ingredients were displayed as artfully as in any French cuisine.

For those who think the only thing to eat in Korea is *kimchi*, think again. There are more than 48 distinctly different varieties of *kimchi* produced in Korea. *Kimchi*, seasoned and preserved Asian cabbage, is rich in vitamins, minerals and even protein. And no, *kimchi* is not cabbage buried in the ground to rot. Before refrigeration became common, *kimchi* used to be buried in the ground in large, brown, clay pots in order to preserve the food over the winter, but the kimchi was not rotten, just pickled.

Pickling used to be a common practice in America, too, not long ago.

Some of the best places we found to eat were small, hole-in-the-wall, Mom-and-Pop restaurants that serve one thing and do it really well. At one tiny shop, we ate *ton jon*, seasoned sausage patties covered with egg batter and pan-fried, that you picked up with your chopsticks (kind of) and dipped (or dropped) in a seasoned soy sauce. Wash that down with some milky Korean rice beer, called *makali*, and add some side dishes of spicy pickles and spicy vegetables for variety — delicious. Now I know many would balk at the idea of eating pigs feet, but *sam kye tal* is an incredible dish. Take all the meat from a pot of boiled pigs feet. Grill it and pile a huge heap of it on a platter. Pick up a piece, lay it in a lettuce or sesame leaf, smear some *ko chu chang* sauce, a spicy fermented bean paste, add a sliver of garlic, fold it up and pop it into your mouth. Then, repeat the process over and over, again and again.

And Korean food is not the same as Japanese food or Chinese food. I think Americans might tend to lump all three cuisines together when in reality the food from each of these countries is very different. I've heard that connoisseurs in these three different Asian countries judge food differently: the Japanese judge by look, the Chinese judge by smell, while Koreans judge by quantity. A full Korean meal can consist of grilled meat (done right at your table), three to five side dishes or seafood, seaweed, pickles and vegetables, rice and a noodle or soup dish.

While we ate mostly in restaurants, we also experienced some wonderful home cooking. I knew my friend Monica, who lived in Taegu, in southeast South Korea, liked *sam gyep tang*, a chicken dish we had eaten together when I lived in Korea 10 years ago. When we visited her, she made me her homemade version and it was wonderful. You take a whole chicken and stew it with rice, young ginseng root and jujube fruit. A kind of sea salt, less refined than table salt, is served on the side. Add some side dishes and you have a feast.

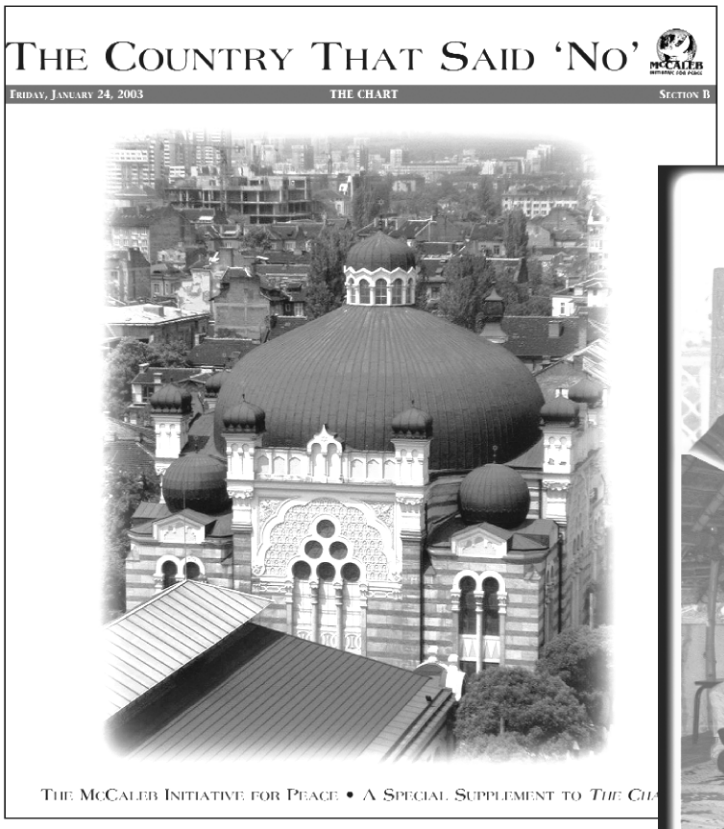
That brings up another Korean obsession, ginseng. Korean ginseng is reputed to be the best in the world. We visited the National Ginseng Store where it is sold in various forms — powder, syrup and extract. Despite (or perhaps because of) its bitter taste, ginseng is said to have all kinds of healthful properties. I've found that I can drink it in the morning, and it gives a better boost than caffeine. I've also taken it to overcome jet lag.

There are several different "holy trinities" of food. The Creole cook uses onions, celery and green pepper; the Native Americans use corn, beans and squash; the Koreans use ginseng, garlic and *kimchi*. The Koreans consider their food to be healthy. There have been no reported cases of SARS in the country, and Koreans credit the use of their "holy trinity" for that. Sales of South Korean *kimchi* and garlic have gone up 20 percent since the outbreak of SARS. Most of the increased sales have been exports to China.

Coral Russell/The Chart

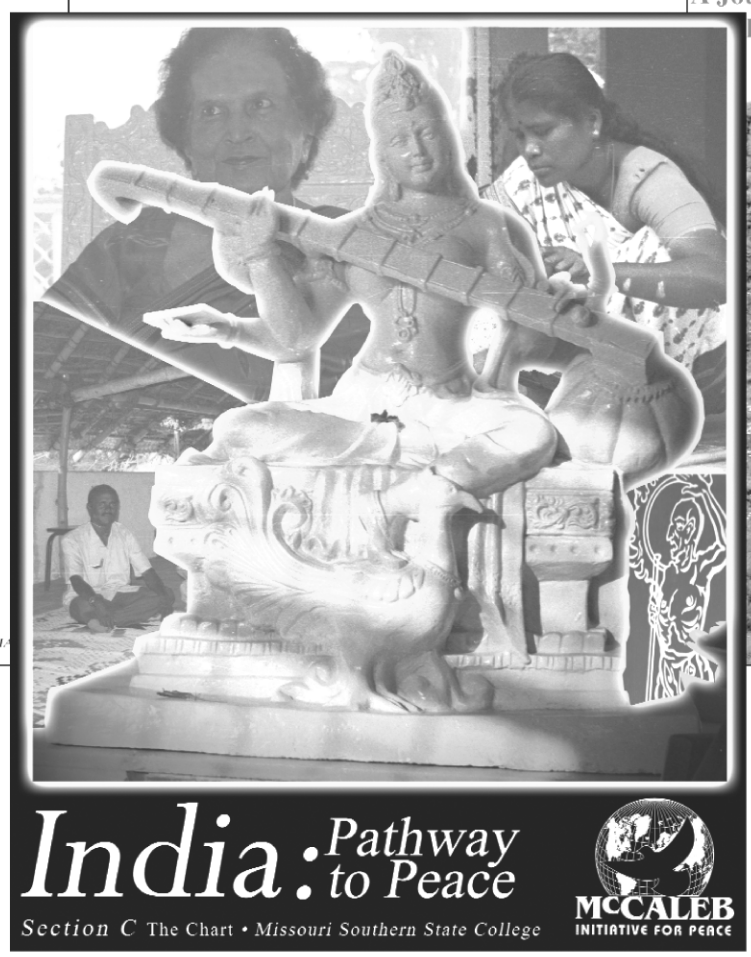
The last course in a Korean meal is traditionally soup or chi-ge.

I didn't realize how much I missed Korean food until I went back. I ate Korean food exclusively when I lived there 10 years ago. When I felt homesick, I would eat pizza from the Hannam food court or go to TGIF's to get a cob salad. But on the whole, I considered it better to eat good Korean food than crappy American food. I've tried, and failed, to recreate the flavors and odors and textures and colors of that food in my own home here. So, if I've made you hungry, I'm sorry. The closest Korean restaurant that I know of is the Korea House in Bolivar, about two hours from Joplin. And I suspect a dinner there will cost way more than $5-$7.


THE COUNTRY THAT SAID 'NO'

FRIDAY, JANUARY 24, 2003 THE CHART SECTION B

THE MCCALEB INITIATIVE FOR PEACE • A SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT TO *THE CHA*


India: Pathway to Peace

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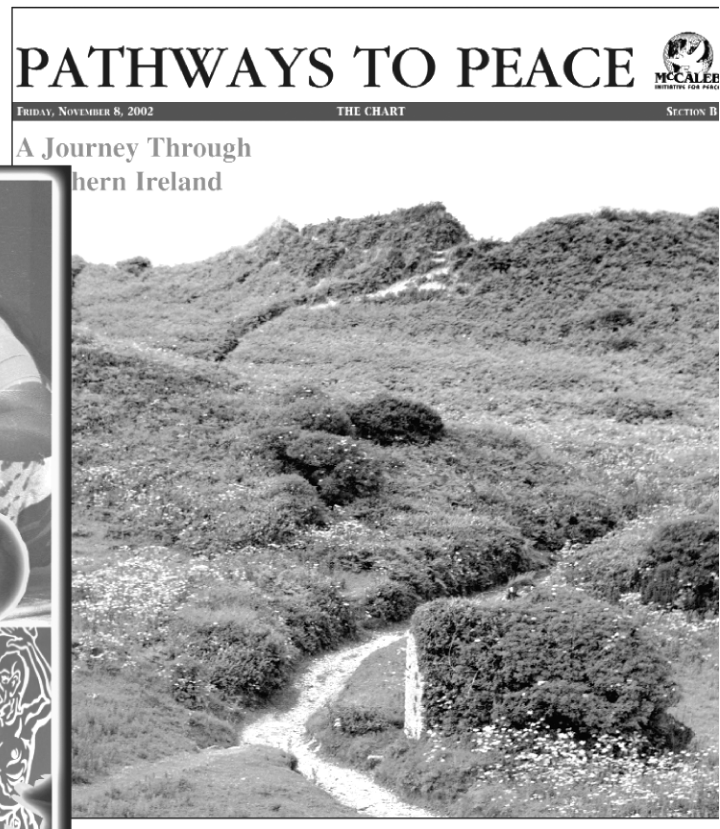
PATHWAYS TO PEACE

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 2002 THE CHART SECTION B

A Journey Through
hern Ireland

The world is yours. You just have to take it.

Each year, students are given the opportunity of a lifetime. Along with a faculty member, they can apply for a $5,000 grant in a campus-wide competition. If the team's proposal is accepted, the student travels to anywhere in the world, focusing on the search for peace.

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After traveling, the team begins working on a special supplement to be published in *The Chart*, the student newspaper of Missouri Southern.

Kenneth McCaleb founded *The Chart* in 1939.

During the application process, the team is required to submit a proposal, detailing what it plans to accomplish, story ideas and a listing of expenses.

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PARTS:

From Page 5B

some time. It opened up a little in 1996 to admit that is was experiencing a widespread famine and asked for assistance. It was widely speculated the regime would collapse after the death of Kim Il-sung, but this did not happen, and his son, Kim Jong-Il, has formalized his power within the regime. North Korea is dedicated to the ideals of the Juche philosophy, its national sovereignty and the survival of the regime. It has pursued these ideals with dogged determination. It wants bilateral talks with the United States and a non-aggression pact. It has started to take tentative steps toward opening up its economy to market reforms. However, nothing moves quickly within the DPRK.

Why does North Korea want bi-lateral talks?

I believe it is because it has wanted to legitimize itself for quite some time and it sees diplomatic relations with the United States as a way to do this. It also believes the United States has the most to offer in the way of assistance (monetary, humanitarian, etc.).

Also, the United States is the only country that can conceivably attack the DPRK militarily. The DPRK has been hobbled economically through sanctions that hinder its access to economic assistance from the international community.

These measures are largely supported by the United States. Links have been found between North Korea and the drug trade, the black market on U.S. currency, and weapons. There has been much criticism of these endeavors, but the DPRK is left with little choice but to pursue economic areas where it can gain hard currency.

Why does North Korea want nuclear weapons?

It is a matter of regime survival. It believes the only way to secure its interests on the peninsula is to obtain whatever weapons are necessary to defend itself against its "enemies." North Korea consistently sees itself surrounded by enemies of its livelihood.

Why does the United States want multi-lateral talks?

I believe the United States does not want to foot any bill for North Korea. There has been Congressional opposition to support for the 1994 Agreed Framework and in fact in 1998 the U.S. Congress did work to reduce the amount of heavy fuel oil sent to North Korea.

The United States doesn't want to be pigeonholed by North Korea into supplying anything more. There are those in Washington who truly dislike having anything to do with North Korea. President Bush himself has expressed strong dislike for Kim Jong-Il and his regime. North Korea would have the support of presumably China and Russia, and the United States would have the support of Japan and South Korea. However, because of each country bringing a set of objectives from their respective countries, it will be difficult to obtain a consensus for these multi-level talks.

The first round of talks ended with an agreement to talk again, sort of — North Korea backed out the next day, then said it would return the day after.

A quick look at the opinions of the people:

Coral Russell/The Chart

Jang Young-suk, Kim Ro-min, Cho Song-jun, Lim Jae-sang and Kim Dong-hyun talk about politics.

University students refuse to believe in unification or think about it

This group had the most diverse views of the people we talked with. They said they don't think about unification or take it seriously. The students argued there were no similarities between the North and South.

"We can't even understand their language."

"They are rural people, they don't understand urban culture."

"North Korea is purely Korean, and South Korea is a mixture of cultures."

"I fear for the South Korean order, the order of society and the economy. Now is not the time for unification, 50 years from now perhaps."

"Most young people don't feel a necessity for unification; it is an 'abstract' idea. Older people have connections with the North; we don't have any shared experience."

About the nuclear issue, "The U.S. is overreacting. U.S. intervention in Iraq found no such weapons."

"Maybe we don't want the U.N. and the U.S. to take a role in our country. They broke Korea into pieces. The U.S. and other countries are only playing with South Korea."

"America wants to maintain a power balance in Asia with China and Japan."

"America, China and Japan don't want a united Korea."

"Maybe we don't want the U.N. and the U.S. to take a role in our country. They broke Korea into pieces."

Coral Russell/The Chart

Casey Hall and Grant Canyon enjoy their first authentic Korean dinner.

Americans think all North Koreans want is money

In Korea on business, they thought North Korea should be bought off. All the North Koreans really want is money, and the Americans should find out their price and pay them. The Hyundai scandal proved this point. They thought it would not be in China's interest to have the peninsula united for economic reasons and for these same reasons, they would like to do business in North Korea. First, they thought they could help people by giving them a standard-of-living increase, and second, because of the low labor wages, they would be able to make money for themselves.

ACCIDENT:

From Page 4B

and South Korea gathered at Kumgangsan and talked. Unification is needed to heal a wounded Korea. Her organization believes there should be cultural exchanges first, next economic aid and then face-to-face discussions of ways and means to achieve unification. Most Koreans believe the U.S. Army should stay, but she disagrees. She wants the United States to reduce its involvement and show of power.

"With the U.S. Army here, we cannot negotiate for ourselves."

A Catholic nun:

She had come as a private citizen for the memorial service. Religious people have always taken part in peace projects. There was a time in Korea when citizens could not participate in this kind of thing.

"I want to do this because I can."

Labor party supporters:

They came to show party support for the memorial. Unification should be achieved peacefully. Weapons should be reduced by South and North Korea and the United States/the World. That will lead to unification.

Student from Seoul Women's College:

I support a basic campaign for peace and unity. The government is not helping to achieve reunification at all. The Korean government should support our peace campaign. From this campaign, many people will think about why they (the two middle-school girls) are dead.

"The American army is why the girls are dead."

College student:

I'm here as a duty. I saw the memorial service announced in the media and believed I should participate in the demonstration. The purpose of our demonstration is to address the crisis of foreign military presence in Korea. After the foreign military leaves, Korean unification may be possible.

We moved around through the crowd and left with no problem and the memorial service broke up late in the evening. It is estimated that 40,000 people participated. Some had come to remember the death of the two young girls. Some had come to protest the United States' presence in South Korea. Some had come to be active participants in South Korea's increasingly free democracy. Riot police numbering in the thousands were also very present. A week after we left Korea, there was a pro-U.S./U.N. demonstration that tried to burn a North Korean flag and was stopped from doing so by riot police. Again, the reason given by a South Korean government spokesmen for this suppression of opinion was that such unruly displays would hurt the Korean economy.

Ko Young Dae is the executive manager for the Solidarity for Peace and Reunification of Korea and Council for Reconciliation and Self-Reliance. This office represents 15 organizations including a Catholic priest's organization dedicated to reunification, but self-reliance is also a key element of its project. This council is responsible for the investigation of the accident that caused the death of two middle-school girls. It also organized demonstrations. The organization fought for the reduction in artillery testing by American troops on the Korean west coast.

What does unification mean to you?

Kim Dae Jung and Kim Jong Il met and established a plan. They also issued a statement that each regime's government policy must be respected. Then, a confederation can be made, similar to two states operating in the United States.

What compromises would South Korea be willing to make?

We have totally different economic ideologies: Socialism in the North and Capitalism in the South. Acceptance of the validity of both systems is necessary by both North and South. We must respect both systems and President Roh has just announced that a Communist Party will be permitted to function in the South.

Can unification happen with the presence of the United States and the United Nations?

Definitely now this does not help. The United States does not want unification because the continued tension guarantees continued U.S. military presence on the Korean peninsula.

What is a Confederation?

A blend, a merge through a series of compromises between the two Koreas. We are one race, one family. This is the main consideration. Consider Hong Kong and China. Capitalist and Socialist. A successful pattern for Korea to follow.

Is unification inevitable?

The process has already begun. Unification is underway now. The U.S. presence is only hindering the process.

A confederation is a North Korean proposal. Are you able to discuss this idea with the North?

After the summit meeting, in Article 2, they admitted as much. The confederation idea is also not necessarily a North Korean idea. After the summit announcement, we do communicate with North Korean representatives, and they with us.

The International community generally dismisses the confederation plan as unworkable. Why do you believe it will work?

Changing one system or another would require war. We want peace, but not like East and West Germany where the East was absorbed by the West.

If there is no unification, what will be lost?

Korean politics, economics, culture, language — how can one live with half a body?

What about the nuclear issue?

Yes, serious. The Bush administration will use this to provoke war in Northeast Asia, which could lead to a World War. We are sure we don't want nuclear weapons on the Korean peninsula, but what is more dangerous is the Bush administration's potential for raising tension. We want a nuclear-free area here. North and South Korea held dialogue about the nuclear-free area at the end of the Cold War. South Korea returned its nuclear weapons to the United States at this time. Operation 5027 is the South Korean/American military plan for a first strike against North Korea. This policy cannot be justified. There is a Korea/American Defense Agreement that does not allow such an attack. Also breaks the 1994 Geneva Agreements. North Korea developed nuclear weapons to defend itself, as a response to this South Korea/American threat.

How about South Korean democracy?

Real, developing, step by step.

POLICY:

From Page 4B

Mountains (Kumgangsan). He set up a tourist facility there and agreed to pay the North Korean government $8 million a month for five years for the opportunity. The project cost to Hyundai was enormous and would not be profitable until an overland route to the mountains was established through the Demilitarized Zone. This happened in February. He also was seen delivering truckloads of cattle to North Korea as a gesture of friendship during the famine.

The success of "The Sunshine Policy" was in establishing civilian connections between North and South Korea and allowing South Korean people to experience and identify with North Koreans as people and not demonized enemies of the South. This was a huge turning point in the minds of many people. Limited exchanges from all areas occurred.

The North was not as open and accepting of this "warmth" to begin with. There were several serious military exchanges in the Yellow Sea. A small North Korean submarine became entangled in fishing nets off the eastern coast of South Korea.

An historical moment took place in June 2000. The respective leaders of the two Koreas met for the first time in 50 years — North Korean leader Kim Jong Il and the president of South Korea Kim Dae Jung. During this historic meeting a new agreement was reached and Kim Jung Il was urged to visit the South soon. Kim Dae Jung won the Noble Peace Prize that year for the implementation of his plan. All seemed well.

South Korean presidents serve a one-time, five-year term. This policy was put into effect because of 40 years of military dictatorships that dominated South Korea until 1993. Kim Dae Jung was ill and at the end of his term when two new candidates appeared for the 2002-2003 elections — Park and Roh. These candidates represented two different schools of thought in South Korea.

Park represented a return to the hard line approach with North Korea, which was endorsed by the Bush administration.

Roh was a human rights lawyer with no experience in politics who planned to carry forward Kim Dae Jung's policies of engagement with the North.

Roh won. That's when a major bombshell hit South Korea.

It was alleged that the Hyundai Corporation paid $500 million to North Korea to secure its part in the summit in 2000. There was direct involvement by the government because it helped Hyundai secure the necessary loans to make this "donation."

It was concluded by the independent investigation that Kim Dae Jung knew about the transaction, but the extent will not be known since Roh has refused to extend the investigation period. Several people have been convicted for their parts in the scheme. Chung of Hyundai died before the payments came to light, but his sons, who now run the company, could face charges as well. One son that would have been implicated committed suicide in August.

One of the questions I asked the interviewees was about the Sunshine Policy — was it alive or dead? Most thought it was alive, but changed and, to a lesser extent, effective.

For all of Roh's promises during his campaign, his administration has been too beset by internal economic and political problems for the moment to do much in the way of supporting the Sunshine Policy. Also the prospect of negotiations about nuclear weapons that are to take place with North Korea has cast a long shadow over any kind of engagement with the North. The interviewees felt engagement was necessary, and they supported civilian exchanges but not government. They thought more could be accomplished private person-to-person than government-to-government.

Limited cultural exchanges between the two Koreas have occurred in many areas. The success of The Sunshine Policy was in establishing civilian connections between North and South Korea and allowing South Korean people to experience and identify with North Koreans as people, as fellow Koreans, and not as faceless, demonized enemies of the South. This was a huge turning point in the minds of many people.

A Look Inside Korea

Coral Russell/The Chart

A buddhist temple in the mountains surrounding Seoul South Korea.

Coral Russell/The Chart

Historic art can be found inside Korean buddhist temples.

Coral Russell/The Chart

A group of soldiers come together outside the DMZ.

Coral Russell/The Chart

Visitors walk to the Seoul National Museum.

Coral Russell/The Chart

A summer house inside a Korean palace complex.

Coral Russell/The Chart

Hee Soon won first place with his cherry tomatoes.

NUCLEAR:

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effect, turning over control of the DMZ to South Korea and the United Nations. However, this comes with a $12 billion increase in high-tech weaponry to the area. As our DMZ tour guide said, "there is no De in the De-Militarized Zone.

Some Koreans expressed the fear that China would fill in the power gap if the United States left, and it was not something they wanted.

Even though most South Koreans we talked to did not think unification would be resolved with the U.S. troop presence, they still wanted the U.S. troops to remain as a deterrent to the North.

Would the United States leave? No. They've drawn the line and it happens to run through the 38th parallel. The U.S. military also likes to promote the Theater Missile Defense system, that will be very costly to the countries that buy it and is really only of benefit to the U.S. defense, if anyone. But it is a great way for the military industrial complex to sell some more stuff, and they need an enemy in that area to push it. North Korea plays the bad guy so well.

What if the U.S. forces remain in South Korea? That's the crux because things will stay the same.

Could it be that North Korea is building a nuclear weapon because they actually fear an attack by the United States? Yes, because deep down, the North Koreans believe the Bush administration wants to see Kim Jung Il's whole system come down. The bottom line is they want regime change. The military writes up their options for attacking a country, and they have a couple written up for the North. The United States is going to ask North Korea for a verifiable way of determining whether they have dismantled their nuclear weapons. They are going to do this with a straight face knowing what happened in Iraq, where inspectors like Scott Ritter have come forward and claimed the U.S. government was pulling the strings behind an independent U.N. inspection team. Iraq went through this whole scenario, and it led to war anyway. North Korea knows this and will not accept these terms. So things will stay the same, and North Korea is really in a great position to wait it out. As fearful as the Bush administration looks right now, they have an election to win in 2004 which will keep them occupied, and the president of South Korea serves one five year term. North Korea has all the time in the world and can afford to sit back and see if a better hand comes to the table in the next couple of years. They have been doing this for 50 years. Kim Il Sung alone saw the passage of eight U.S. presidents.

China has stepped up their pressure on North Korea to at least come to the negotiating table. The multi-lateral talks have begun with North Korea stating maybe it will or maybe it won't come to the next meeting.

DEMOCRACY:

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growth, South Korea has been held up as an example to other third-world countries.

According to Zakaria, this economic growth was able to occur in part because it had something called a "liberal autocrat" that develops the country economically first. Several Koreans I spoke with said Park Chung Hee did this for South Korea as a military dictator. For all of his faults (and there are many), he is the one who developed the South so that it could become the Asian Tiger it is today. When South Korea held its first real democratic elections in 1993, its per capita income was $7,000.

What does money do for democracy?

In one of our interviews, Mr. Kim, a financial planner, said, "Capitalism is innate in Koreans; they are successors of the earlier merchants and businessmen."

Kim feels capitalism requires an opening or a turning outward of a country. Koreans must look beyond its borders to the international community to develop economic opportunities and expand their businesses. Inchon, the main South Korean seaport on the Yellow Sea across from China, has the potential to become the central shipping and receiving base for all of Asia. Capitalism also requires many laws to be enforced to govern its transactions. People like their investments to be secure and that cannot happen when there is constant conflict. Time and again we heard from Koreans how they valued peace and stability in the region. At the memorial we attended, the government made clear that whatever was happening was not to be called a "demonstration," and there were no anti-American signs allowed because an "anti-American demonstration" would affect the "market." All the Koreans we talked to seemed comfortably employed and had no real criticisms about their economic situation. They saw Korea as growing and developing, not stagnating or backsliding. The only group that was significantly different in its beliefs about South Korea's economic future were the college students who were definitely fearful of what the economic situation was going to be for them when they graduated. They seemed to be the least optimistic of all South Koreans about the future.

Korea is bordered by the former grandfathers of Communism — China and Russia. They have traditionally held a powerful sway over things Korean, along with Japan and the United States. The two countries that will probably bring the next big wave of influence (again) are China and Russia, simply because they are on the verge of possibly turning the corner to democracy as well as capitalism. Economic reforms are being developed first. Along with this could come the build up of a large middle class, new laws and change.

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Mr. Kim
Financial Planner

What about North Korea?

North Korea is rich in natural resources and has been able to use that to its advantage by developing and selling off those resources. This works to keep the country closed because it does not have to look outward for its economy. It can sell what it has, and internal economic development is not really required. North Korea's per capita income is around $700. This would put North Korea in Zakaria's "death" zone for democratic stability, but North Korea has never been democratic. After the Armistice in 1953, North Korea moved to the beat of a different economic drummer from the beginning. Korea is no different in that it developed its own style of Communism, usually referred to as *juche*. It is facing enormous pressure because of the economic changes taking place in China and Russia and its own failing economy. We heard different opinions from Koreans as to whether China would help or hinder unification. I suspect China does not want the immediate collapse of North Korea. That would send a flood of refugees that could destabilize a large area in China, and since China is hardly ready to accept full-blown democracy, it is highly unlikely it will accept it on a large part of its border. South Korea under Kim Dae Jung tried the "Sunshine" or "Engagement Policy" and the consensus among Koreans we talked to is that if you can get North Korea to open up to capitalist economic ideas, they will be transformed. I believe this is true. Unfortunately, it's probably not what the North's current leader, Kim Jong Il, has in mind. He wants his regime to remain in power and seems willing to do virtually anything to keep it in power. Economically, the North is in the very first beginning baby steps toward a market economy. You have to start somewhere, but I can't help feeling that Kim Jong Il has in mind the reforms of Singapore, China and Russia, or Park Chung Hee, where a dictator is reigning over an economic powerhouse. North Korea is keeping a watchful eye on how these economic reforms are affecting the other countries' ability to rule. In capitalism "time is money," but I don't see that sense of urgency coming from North Korea. It's almost as if North Korea is playing a wicked game of chess and it has thought the game out 20 moves ahead of any opponent.

They seem to know and appreciate the scope of history and everything it can bring to bear on the present. If it starts to look as if democracy will be the next step, then I don't think Kim Jong Il will follow through with the reforms. Hyundai invested more than $500 million in an effort to secure its place in North Korea's new economy. In a way it looks beneficial, but in another way, how is any other company going to compete? And how realistic are North Korea's expectations for future business deals when the opening bid is $500 million?

Is there a down side?

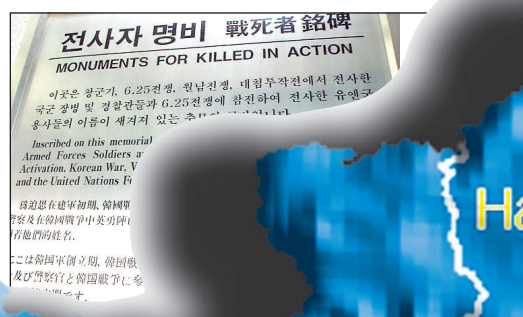
As with all things, yes, American democracy is not necessarily "heaven on earth" or even the best political system imaginable. I cannot believe that everything is going so swimmingly in America when most of Americans don't feel the need to vote. Still, democracy seems the best way, so far, to give the majority a say in what happens to them while protecting the minority.

Zakaria called for reform by insisting, "There must be a way to make democratic systems work so that they do not perennially produce short-term policies with dismal results."

My biggest problem with capitalism is the insistence on a "free and unhindered market," which means there should be no government controls. If left alone, the market will determine what is best for everything.

But it doesn't. Numerous investigative reports have shown how the U.S. government has consistently bank rolled corporate welfare. That means expenses that are part of doing business and should be paid for by the company are instead being paid for by taxpayers and it costs billions of dollars, not to mention that businesses contrive to not show the real costs of producing and selling their products. These "hidden costs" are environmental degradation, labor exploitation, price fixing and conglomerates that are not tied to any community, area or region; everything is done in the sole pursuit of profit.

I believe capitalism only sees value in what can be gained in one lifetime or generation. Capitalism works best by benefitting the most people when there is strong government controls and long range planning.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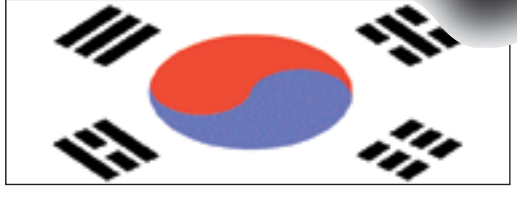

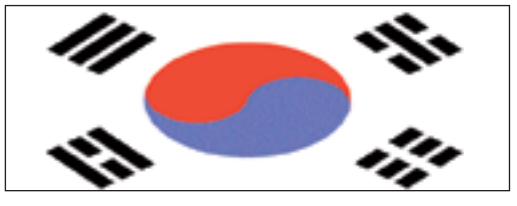

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